

25TH OF SEPTEMBER

COMMUNIQUE

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

2ND CONGRESS

RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

M O Z A M B I Q U E L I B E R A T I O N F R O N T
- FRELIMO -

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M O Z A M B I Q U E R E V O L U T I O N

June-September 1968

N, 35

Information Department
201, Nkrumah street P.O.Box 15274
DarEsSalaam, U.R. of Tanzania

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EDITORIAL

The most important aspect of our Congress obviously was not the mere fact of the event itself: all democratic organisations hold congresses periodically to allow the people to express their opinions on the work that has been done, on the leadership, on the policy.

Holding the Congress inside our country, in the interior of Mozambique, was not the most important aspect either. Certainly, this was important: indeed, in the long history of Mozambique, it was the first Congress to be held there. Moreover, the circumstances surrounding the meeting illustrated our control over part of Mozambique: 2 months previously, FRELIMO had announced when and where the Congress would take place. And despite this information, the Portuguese were unable to prevent or even disturb it. But we do not consider this fact as the most important: for, if we have liberated zones (and we have had them for about 2 years), it is quite natural that we should organise our meetings there.

The most important aspect of the Congress, in our view, was the unity it demonstrated and the manner in which it proceeded.

Concerning unity: about 2 months before the Congress, certain events in Dar Es Salaam led to speculation on the existence of a split in FRELIMO. And in fact, the attack against the FRELIMO office by a group of Mozambicans maintaining that they wanted "new leaders" might suggest the existence of rival groups. It was explained at the time that these people were Mozambican immigrants, who have been living in Tanzania for many years, unemployed, probably organised by the enemy; and that they had absolutely no connection with the revolution. But this explanation did not seem sufficient: doubts on our unity were still lingering. The Congress eliminated such doubts. Delegates from every province of Mozambique, representing the whole Mozambican people, expressed their accord with the policy followed during the 6 years since the last Congress, and reaffirmed their confidence in the FRELIMO leadership. It was unanimously decided to proceed with the armed struggle for liberation until the final victory. The leaders elected in 1962 were re-elected.

...

Of course there were differing opinions. Indeed, the prime function of such a meeting is to call on all opinions on the different subjects, to study and analyse them. One delegate, for example, was opposed to the existence of the Women's detachment. Here we must admit a failure on our part in that our comrade had not been educated adequately in the principles of the revolution: for him, a woman's function was still a domestic one, running a home and bearing children, kept apart from any political activity. Representatives of the Women's detachments reacted immediately, giving a detailed account of their activities; his objection was soon withdrawn. Others were opposed to the policy of clemency towards captured enemy soldiers. This attitude is more understandable. After suffering constant Portuguese oppression, wholesale slaughter, destruction of villages, of vital crops, mutilation, rape - it is difficult to restrain the impulse for revenge; it is hard to vote for a law which forbids the killing of captured enemy soldiers, who form part of the oppressive machine. However, after an analysis of the political, strategic and moral grounds, it was decided to continue with the policy of clemency.

These two examples illustrate a major aspect of the Congress, namely, that all delegates had the opportunity to express their views on all problems. Every topic was discussed exhaustively. It proved impossible to decide on a subject by unanimity, there was a vote, and the opinion of the majority prevailed. Complete democracy was a main feature of the proceedings of the Congress.

The Congress finished. The delegates returned to their normal work - to the battlefield, to their branches, to the clandestine cell, to their offices. Each departed with renewed confidence in the success of our Revolution. For the Congress had confirmed that all Mozambicans, from the North to the South of our country, are united in their determination to be free and to work together to obtain this freedom.

EDITORIAL

On the 25th of September, 1964, our people took up their guns and fired on Portuguese troops. The myth of the invincibility of the whiteman, built through centuries by the colonialists was shattered. Our people said Enough! to their masters, and started fighting for their freedom. Herein lies the principal significance of this day for the people of Mozambique. The first shot was symbolic. It was a challenge to white supremacy. It showed confidence in the power of the people. It demonstrated faith in the revolution. On that day there were more than 250 fighters, most of them armed only with pistols or rifles - against the whole Portuguese army, equipped with all the latest weapons: aircraft, tanks. Such a daring attack against such overwhelming odds required great confidence on the part of the people, convinced of the justice of their cause.

That first shot was also symbolic because of the motives behind it. There had been skirmishes between our people and Portuguese troops before. But these skirmishes were only aimed at expelling the Portuguese from a specific region. The people of a tribe would fight for their own freedom. They were merely revolts. But now, however, the aim of the struggle was the freedom of the whole country, the whole of Mozambique. The fighter who fired first may have been a Jawa, a Makonde, a Changana, a Macua. But he was not just fighting for the liberation of his region. He was probably fighting in a region far from his own, amongst people of other tribes. He was fighting for the liberation of the whole of Mozambique.

Four years have passed. The results we have achieved prove that our revolutionary faith was justified. The tiny army of 250 fighters grew to 10,000. The quality of our weapons improved - from pistols to machine guns, mortars and anti-aircraft guns. The disparity of forces between us and the enemy is thus diminishing quickly, as more people join our army every day and more weapons are either captured or offered to us. We have liberated large areas of our country, and started building a new life for the people. We have achieved great successes. Our conviction that the might of the people would triumph has proved correct.

(cont. page 7)***

Resolutions of the Central Committee

From the 25th of August to the 1st of September, 1968, the Central Committee of FRELIMO met in order to draw up new lines of action, in accordance with the resolutions of the Second Congress. The Congress has given the Central Committee a new character. Previously it was composed of the Secretaries of the Departments and their assistants, and had legislative, executive and judicial functions. Now, according to the structure established by the Congress, the Central Committee has become strictly a legislative organ. Its members have been increased from 20 to approximately 40, comprising Provincial Secretaries, representatives of mass organisations, representatives of the provinces and members elected by the Congress. In its first session after the Congress, the Central Committee analysed the work of all the Departments, changed the structure of some of them and approved their programme of action.

Thus, with regard to the Department of Defense, a military High Command was created, as well as a disciplinary Committee and a military Court.

The Executive Committee was entrusted with the responsibility of organising visits of FRELIMO military delegations to friendly countries, aimed at exchanging experiences and strengthening the links of solidarity.

Intensive campaigns to obtain military equipment, uniforms, food and medicines were planned.

It was decided that all FRELIMO officers and their families must undergo political and military training. The 25th of September was declared the Day of the Mozambique People's Army.

On the Department of Organisation, the Central Committee reaffirmed the need for this Department to intensify the political organisation of the people, to expand and to consolidate the political structures of FRELIMO.

Realising the importance of information and propaganda for the mobilisation of the people, the Department of Organisation was urged to work in close cooperation with the Department of Information and Propaganda

The plight of the Mozambican refugees in the refugee camps was analysed. It was noted that most of the refugees are more and more...

willing to be reintegrated into the struggle. Consequently, the Department of Organisation was instructed to create FRELIMO sections in the refugee camps, and to promote the resettlement of Mozambican refugees now in neighbouring countries, in the liberated areas of Mozambique.

The External Affairs Department was recommended to improve the information on our struggle to other countries, in cooperation with the Department of Information and Propaganda.

In compliance with a specific resolution of the II Congress, the Department of External Affairs was entrusted with the study of effective means to intensify our relations with the nationalist movements of the other Portuguese colonies and with the other African liberation movements.

It was noted with satisfaction that committees of support for the struggle of the Mozambican people have been created in many countries, lately even in the Western countries. Special support and appreciation were expressed to those committees.

Aware that the present structure of the Conference of the Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies(CONCP) no longer corresponds to the development of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese Colonies, the Central Committee instructed the Executive Committee to propose a new structure for submission to other members of CONCP.

The Political Department was created in October, 1966. Its creation was the result of the rapid growth of our liberation struggle, which required a more scientific element in our work. However, until now the aims, functions and structure of this Department had not yet been clearly defined. This was done at the last meeting of the Central Committee. It was stated that the aim of the Political Department was to study the problems of the struggle for national liberation, in their theoretical and ideological aspects. The Political Department shall make studies on important topics concerning Mozambique: social, economic, political, etc., and suggest changes in the policy of FRELIMO and in its structures, according to the development of the struggle.

The role of Information and Propaganda was considered to be very important in our Revolution, particularly in the mobilisation of the people for the struggle. It was decided to improve the work of this Department, to meet the demands of the struggle. Special emphasis was laid on the need to issue pamphlets in Mozambican native languages.

The well-being of the populations in the liberated areas is one of our major concerns. Dealing with this problem there is the Department of Social Affairs. The Central Committee decided that assistance centres and production centres for the war disabled should be established in Mozambique; that within the capabilities of our organisation, assistance should be given to the families of the patriots who sacrificed themselves for the cause of national liberation; ...

that a special campaign to mobilise the Mozambican refugees who sought refuge outside of Mozambique should be organised, to encourage them to return to their country; that the provincial secretaries should study the problem of marriage of FRELIMO militants, basing their study on regional customs and traditions; Judicial Committees should be created in the provinces under FRELIMO control, to solve the juridical and social problems of the people.

The Department of Finance and Treasury was formerly responsible for all activities connected with commerce, agriculture and cooperatives. However, it proved impossible for a single Department to deal efficiently with all the complex financial problems of our organisation plus these activities. Therefore, the Central Committee decided to create a new Department, which will be called the Department of Production, Commerce and Cooperatives. Some of the immediate tasks of the new Department will be: a) to study, in cooperation with the Political Department, the manner in which the cooperatives must function in Mozambique and draw up a plan of action accordingly; b) to extend commercial and cooperative activities to new zones; c) to seek a solution to the problem of exchange in the interior; d) to study the possibilities of trade with other countries.

The problems of Education and Culture was given special attention by the Central Committee. The opening of new political and military fronts in the advanced zones, particularly in TETE, require the expansion of our educational activities, so that they may cover these new areas.

With regard to primary education, the Central Committee ruled that the Department of Education and Culture should a) continue its programme to increase the number and the technical level of the teachers; b) proceed with its plan to make more text books; c) ensure regular class attendance by the children in the liberated areas.

With regard to secondary education, it was decided: that the FRELIMO Secondary School should be registered with the Ministry of Education of the U.R. of Tanzania; to continue using the Portuguese language as the medium of instruction; to affiliate the FRELIMO Secondary School with an international system of secondary schools; that the admission of non-Mozambican teachers be firstly discussed with the Political and Security Departments, and that they declare, in a written statement, that they agree to work in accordance with the political principles of FRELIMO. The Department of Education and Culture was also assigned to study the possibility of establishing an educational system for the secondary schools, based on regular examinations that will enable the students to interrupt their studies when called by the needs of the struggle, without much detriment to their education.

Adult education must be intensified in accordance with the programme of the Department.

Regarding the Mozambican students abroad, the Central Committee noted that many of them, by being absent for many years, lose contact...

with the Revolution. It was therefore decided that Department of Education and Culture should organise a programme for their political re-education and re-integration into the struggle. Moreover, the Central Committee recommended that scholarships for studies abroad be given only to active militants; and that the distribution of scholarships be based on the immediate and long-term needs of the struggle.

The nature and functions of the Mozambique Institute were re-defined by the Central Committee, to avoid confusion with the FRELIMO Secondary School. The Secondary School is an institution whose aim is to educate FRELIMO militants for the national liberation struggle. The Mozambique Institute is a centre for obtaining funds, whose purpose is to finance and assist the programmes of education, health, social affairs and women's activities through its technical services. The Central Committee considered that the Mozambique Institute must continue to have judicial autonomy.

The Mozambican Women's League also presented its report. On the basis of the report, the Central Committee congratulated the Mozambican women for their decision to engage themselves in the direct action and to participate in all tasks of the liberation struggle. The Central Committee supported the decision of LIFEMO to take care of the orphans and of the children whose mothers are engaged in revolutionary tasks, and gave the presidency due responsibility of helping LIFEMO in finding funds to build orphanages and to provide infant foods, clothes, etc.

EDITORIAL(continued from p.3).

But we do not anticipate a rapid victory. Indeed, our Second Congress, after analysing the situation in Mozambique, recognised that our struggle will be hard and long.

On the 4th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Mozambique, we reaffirm that we shall continue fighting until our country is free.

IN MOZAMBIQUE WITH FRELIMO

By ANDERS JOHANSSON

SIXTY thousand Portuguese soldiers are trying in vain to defend Mozambique — the Salazar regime's south-east African colony — against surging African nationalism.

The colonial forces are successfully fought by an army of 8,000 well-trained and well-armed guerrilla soldiers — among them several hundred women fighters.

Mozambique is well on its way to become a new Algeria.

During this bitter war, which has now been raging for more than three years, it has been next to impossible to discern the truth from the fighting parties' conflicting war bulletins.

Both sides allege that their forces have killed well over 5,000 enemies, while their own losses are said to be very small.

Frelimo — Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique — maintains that, with the exception of the few towns in the area and some dozens of Portuguese garrisons, the liberation front has control over the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa (one fifth of Mozambique with 800,000 inhabitants), while Portugal alleges that the "terrorists" have been crushed and the sporadic "acts of violence", which still occur, are committed by "infiltrators from abroad" who, under cover of the darkness, cross the Ruvuma River from Tanzania and return there the same night.

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Dr. Salazar seems to persist in believing in the Nazi propaganda trick: if a lie is repeated often enough, it will finally sound as a truth.

During the week spent with Frelimo (as the first ever jour-

alist) I noticed the presence of Portugal only in weapons captured by the liberation front, a reconnaissance plane, and some destroyed villages which were shot to ruins by Portuguese artillery soon after the revolution began on September 25, 1964, as a retaliation for the villagers' support of the guerrillas.

Obviously, the time I spent there was too short to enable me to study the conditions in the whole of the province, but all the same I could get proof enough to say that Frelimo has started a successful war of independence against the Portuguese colonial power.

Already, the guerrillas hold large areas in the northern part of Mozambique; it is effective, in spite of a rather slack organisation (grades and uniforms are non-existent); it is supported by the civilians and, furthermore, it fights on "home ground" in a terrain highly suitable for guerrilla warfare.

I followed Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's President, on his first visit to the liberated areas, and the reception he and his delegation received by the villagers, who met them by the thousands, proved that the organisation fulfills one of the main requirements of an effective guerrilla movement: a trusting co-operation between liberator and the liberated.

If the Portuguese colonial administration is right when it alleges that Frelimo is terrorising the civilian population, then it's rather astonishing that this population should have greeted us with such joy, when together with hundreds of guerrilla soldiers, we walked through the villages.

"Our good relations with the civilian population is the result of gigantic work", says 35-year old army commander Samora

Machel — Mozambique's General Gasp.

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Comrade Samora, his nickname among his officer-colleagues and the privates, is a tough but highly respected, commander-in-chief with a typical guerrilla beard.

He carries his headquarters in "his pocket", and, together with his staff, he is always on the move between different operational zones.

"Before we could start fighting, we had to arouse the people from their apathy, their fear of the Portuguese tyrants; we had to make them aware of why and how we must fight together for our freedom," he said.

When Frelimo was formed in Tanzania's capital, Dar es Salaam, in late September, 1962, it declared as its goal to "organise, mobilise and unite all the people of Mozambique", in order to attain "a total liquidation of the Portuguese colonial domination", and "an immediate and complete independence of Mozambique".

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It took two years of thorough preparation before Frelimo went to its first attack against Portugal's forces.

In 1963, 250 men were sent abroad for political and military training, the majority to Algeria, some to Russia and a few to China. In May 1964, about half of the men were ordered back to Mozambique to teach the people the necessity of getting together and fight the Portuguese.

When Frelimo's political agitators had worked underground in the colony for four months they were reinforced, in August, 1964, by the first units of armed guerrilla soldiers. These 250

pioneers were furnished with an order to strike against Portuguese forces on September 25.

The colonial troops countered with retaliation actions against the civilian population—who fled by the thousands to Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia—and the troops also succeeded in capturing the majority of the guerrilla units in southern Mozambique.

Today, Comrade Samora is the commander of an army of 8,000 guerrilla soldiers. Frelimo is also organising a people's militia, and the ultimate goal is to give weapons to all villagers, thus enabling them to defend themselves against the Portuguese.

I have seen some of the guerrilla's equipment, from Russia, Czechoslovakia and China and also weapons from the U.S.A., West Germany, Belgium, Italy, and other Nato countries.

The former are delivered free to Frelimo from the original countries, other socialist countries, and independent African nations, i.e. Algeria and the United Arab Republic. The Nato weapons are donated by the enemy, by killed and fleeing Portuguese.

"We use the Nato weapons until we have finished their magazines, and then we save them till we capture more ammunition," the guerrillas say.

The fighting is most intensive during the drought period from April to October. In these months the Portuguese leave their garrisons more often than during the rainy period, November-March, and, with air support they patrol between their different bases.

The guerrilla warfare changes little by little as Frelimo's weapons become more sophisticated. When the revolution started, they had only rifles, light machine-guns and automatic pistols—today they attack the

enemy also with bazookas, machine guns, mortars, and light anti-aircraft artillery.

"We have shot down more than 20 planes," the guerrillas say, and they showed me pilots' helmets, parachutes, and one Milan-made machine gun which was mounted on a plane.

Today, the colonial forces are not safe even in their fortified garrisons. The guerrillas have successfully attacked several Portuguese bases, and even captured some of them.

However, Frelimo does not try to keep these garrisons, as they are easy to bomb, and they are satisfied with grabbing weapons, ammunition, medical supplies, and other equipment.

At the same time, as the guerrillas improve their equipment and warfare methods, they also increase their force. Of their 8,000 armed soldiers, 2,000 have been trained abroad, the majority in Tanzania.

Today, however, only officers are sent for special training outside Mozambique, and annually at least 2,000 soldiers are trained during three-month courses in four different guerrilla training camps in the liberated areas.

"But the liberation of Mozambique would go much faster, if we had more weapons," Comrade Samora points out. "We have the soldiers, but not enough weapons. Already, we have 10,000 trained, but unarmed guerrilla men."



Frelimo does not nourish any illusions of an easy and quick victory over the Portuguese. Over and over again, the political commissars in every unit stress the point that the armed fighting will be hard and long and go on perhaps for 20 or 30 years.

But the Portuguese have given Frelimo's political agitators

very effective help: I heard tales of bestial cruelties, committed by Portuguese soldiers; of young African women who have been raped and then killed with rifle shots in their abdomen; of cut-off ears and hands; of eyes burnt out by glowing cigarettes; of prisoners who have been buried in the ground, with only their heads above the earth.

Cabo Delgado is divided into three zones by Frelimo; in the north, the completely liberated zone; then the so-called consolidating zone, and in the south the operational zone.

"In the two first zones, the Portuguese kill all civilians they find; they shoot and burn everybody who does not manage to escape to a village," says Comrade Samora. "They consider these people as 'hopeless' supporters of Frelimo, beyond any attempt to be converted."

Nearly 800,000 free men and women in northern Mozambique are creating their own nation in the woods and mountains.

Portuguese napalm bombs and retaliatory raids remind them now and then of the existence of the Salazar regime. But how will a totally liberated Mozambique of the future look?

"The people who are fighting now for their independence must decide that for themselves," says Dr. Mondlane. "In all probability, we will build a socialistic state, but it will not be a state like Soviet or China. Tanzania is our example and source of inspiration."

"We cannot boast of any dramatic victories. This is a guerrilla war, not a regular war. We avoid any big direct confrontations with the enemy. Slowly, little by little we shall force the Salazar regime out of our country by successively killing the Portuguese soldiers."

MILITARY REPORT

Some remarkable developments have taken place since our liberation struggle started, four years ago. At that time our fighters, with poor weapons and small numbers, were organised into small groups, and their operations were confined to ambushing enemy patrols. Gradually, however, we developed to platoons and companies; and more recently we established specialised artillery units, specifically trained in handling mortars, anti-aircraft guns and cannons. We are now able to attack enemy bases and camps in companies, and to organise frequent ambushes followed by assaults in which the enemy is completely wiped out and large quantities of weapons are captured.

Our war has therefore advanced to a new phase. It is still a guerrilla war, since this is the only way of opposing such a strong enemy - with a well equipped army of 60,000 (six Portuguese soldiers to one FRELIMO fighter) with an airforce, navy, police, PIDE and the so-called "Provincial Organisation of Volunteers" (O.P.V.). They have modern transport facilities. They still control the basic economy of the country. They have a constant supply of modern weapons, furnished by their imperialist allies in NATO. They have foreign troop reinforcements (several South African companies were located by FRELIMO intelligence in TETE Province, around CAHORA BASSA: in CHICOA, CHIOCO, MAGUE and ZUMBO).

Our main strength, on the other hand, lies in the support of the people and in the solidarity of the progressive countries. It was this support and solidarity which enabled us to build up our army, and hence enter into a new phase of operations.

The position therefore is that our final victory is certain, as it is impossible for the enemy to get much stronger: already Portugal has been forced to call up disabled men and women; she had to extend military service to 4 years; more than half of her budget is spent on the war. We on the other hand are going from strength to strength. With each advance into new zones, more people join our ranks. With the progress of the struggle, more weapons are given to us. As Portugal by the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia will soon be curtailed by the development of the struggle in these areas. The colonialists in Mozambique

inspired by our achievements in the past year. Now:

We have opened a new military front in TETE and that front are scoring important victories.

- The Mozambican women decided to become directly involved in the armed struggle, by the creation of their own military detachments. Their participation in the front lines, in the mobilisation of the people and in production has proved to be exceptional.

Important Portuguese bases were attacked and some were destroyed - in DIACA, NANGADE, MUTAMBA DOS MACONDES, CHIWAYA, MUNHANDICA, NAMOTO, CHICONONO, SIPAKI, CHITUCULA, NAMBUDE, etc.

- In the liberated zones the enemy are almost completely confined to their posts, thus allowing us complete freedom of movement: members of the Central Committee travel through them constantly; foreign journalists enter to report on our progress; a six-man military delegation of the OAU spent 10 days in Niassa Province; the Second Congress of FRELIMO was held in Niassa, unhindered. The Congress was undoubtedly the most important single event during the past year. It was both a demonstration to the outside world of the progress we have made in our struggle; and, more important, it gave the Mozambican people renewed vigour and enthusiasm for their long struggle. Indeed, only a few weeks later 12 Portuguese aircraft were destroyed in a single attack, and 3 more were shot down 2 days later.

One interesting sideline to our successes has been the reaction of the enemy. In certain areas (particularly in Niassa), the Portuguese have adopted a new tactic: instead of terrorising the people with cruel reprisals, as they have done in the past, they are now trying to coax people to return to them, by using intensive propaganda and promises of material benefits. Moreover, they are also attempting more subtle methods of hindering our movement, by trying to cause disruption at our headquarters in order to discredit FRELIMO - as was seen in Dar Es Salaam a few months ago: but they failed miserably, as those events were seen by everybody for what they were, and FRELIMO emerged stronger and more unified than ever before.

"The Second Congress of FRELIMO,

Vehemently condemns the American imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam; demands immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American and allied forces from the Vietnamese territory;

Hails the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam; reaffirms its total solidarity and support for the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and the Front for National Liberation of South Vietnam.

(Extract from the Congress RESOLUTION
ON FOREIGN POLICY)

to liberate my country

My name is Natacha Deolinda and I was born at MACHANGA, MANICA and SOFALA Province, on May 5th, 1945. My father drove a lorry transporting loads for a company: sacks of flour, sugar, rice, etc. My mother worked in the fields. There were five children. My father earned 300.00 escudos a month (10.17 dollars) working every day and often the night as well while the white lorry drivers earned at least 3000.00 escudos for the same work. My mother cultivated a very small field. All the land around belonged to a Portuguese landowner who had taken all the land and left us practically nothing. Life was difficult in our household: we ate a little maize, a little flour, sometimes a little rice but it was very hard to buy meat; a very small piece would cost at least 15.00 escudos.

I was able to go to the Swiss Mission School at XICOMBANE, where my grandfather sent me. I got my certificate there. I had to pay 500.00 escudos a year. After that I went to LOURENÇO MARQUES to take a dressmaking course. I paid 220.00 escudos a month and on top of that I had to buy material. My uncle covered the costs.

Later I joined FRELIMO because I saw how the people were suffering. I heard on the radio and saw pamphlets saying that FRELIMO was fighting to liberate Mozambique. For this, to liberate my country, I decided to leave my parents and join FRELIMO. Our people have suffered very much. For example at BUZI (Beira), the Portuguese took all the land. There were some villages on the land and the people in them were driven out, and had to leave their homes, their land and look for a new place to live and grow food. They received no compensation for their houses; they were just driven out. In our area we were forced to leave, abandoning our fields and the Portuguese planted sugar cane everywhere. We were not allowed to use the wells we had dug; all the water was reserved for the cane. If one of us was found with some sugar cane on us we were arrested and made to pay 50.00 escudos for a tiny piece of it. They said we had stolen and if we didn't have any money the administration made us work for a week in the plantation, supposedly to pay for the bit of sugar cane. They also forced the people to work on the plantations, working from morning to evening for 2.50 escudos a day. The people had no clothes; they had nothing. I worked hard. I made clothes, dresses and trousers. I was paid 25.00 escudos for one dress.

We girls, we women suffered very much from the colonialists. We didn't have the right to go to school. Now with the revolution, with FRELIMO, we have the opportunity to study everything. For instance we even learn about weapons and know how to fight, we even have a chance to speak at meetings. Even I have already been to the...

secondary school created by FRELIMO and there were many other girls with me. FRELIMO helps us. It's very different from how it was with the colonialists. For instance when I was in Lourenço Marques the white pupils were with the teacher and we were put in a separate room. Once a woman said to the teacher that she was wasting her time teaching a negress. Now in the Institute that FRELIMO runs the teachers do everything to help us, they are comrades.

When I went into the army FRELIMO put me through a course on youth organisation and also gave me my military training. Then I went to work in CABO DELGADO Province. Our detachment held meetings everywhere, explaining the politics of our party, the reasons for the struggle and also the role of Mozambican women in the revolution.

The Mozambican woman participates in all revolutionary activities, she helps the combatants, she has an important role in production, she grows crops, she also has military training and fights, she joins the militias which protect the people and the fields.

I think it a very good thing that we women take part in the Revolution; it serves the liberation struggle for the people. With the revolution our people are living better than ever before, they are free. We also have many difficulties; there are many shortages; in certain regions there are shortages of food, clothing, medicine but these difficulties are part of the struggle. Our people understand things; they want these difficulties which help to create the people's power; the people don't want the Portuguese government, Portuguese power; they want our power - the people's power.

We women have seen how the colonialists treat us. Our comrades are completely different. The Portuguese soldiers came to our villages to take us; as we refused, they took us by force. Now for example, in the base where I am stationed there are men and women; the men are in the majority but never have they come and interfered with us; they respect us. FRELIMO has taught us respect - that is the result of the Revolution. We shall win.

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son of Mozambique nationalist and patriot
in the name of those things most sacred to me
my people and my country
swear to devote all my energies to the service
of the revolution
i shall never vacillate
until the liberation of my people
my life belongs to the Revolution

message

From: the Second Congress of FRELIMO

To: His Excellency

JULIUS K. NYERERE

President of the United Republic of Tanzania

Dar Es Salaam (Tanzania)

Your Excellency,

The II Congress of FRELIMO highly appreciates the support that the people and the government of Tanzania have always given to the struggle of the Mozambican people.

The acceptance of the establishment of FRELIMO's external headquarters since 1962, the accommodation given to Mozambican refugees at special camps in Tanzania, the material aid, as well as the political support accorded to us by the Tanzanian people, in particular through the African Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity, are the concrete expression of a highly revolutionary spirit of African solidarity that the Mozambican people will never forget.

Because of their solidarity with the Mozambican people, the people of Tanzania have often been victims of aggression from the Portuguese colonialists. Several Tanzanian brothers have been killed, and some wounded as a result of those aggressions.

At this very moment of our meeting in Congress, news has come to us that once more the Portuguese colonialists have attacked Tanzanian territory.

The Mozambican people, meeting in Congress, vehemently condemn the criminal aggressions committed by the Portuguese colonialists against the people and the territory of Tanzania, and pay their homage to the Tanzanian brothers who have fallen victims of colonialist aggression and who will forever remain martyrs of the African revolutionary solidarity.

Your Excellency, the Mozambican people express their gratitude for the support given by Tanzania, which has been a great contribution to the armed struggle in Mozambique.

Today, the representatives of the Mozambican people, meeting in the II Congress of FRELIMO in national territory, warmly greet the people and the government of Tanzania and wish that the friendship and the solidarity that unite the people of Tanzania with the people of Mozambique in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism be evermore consolidated for the benefit of our peoples and of Africa as a whole.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE - VENCEREMOS!

II CONGRESS OF FRELIMO

Nyassa, Mozambique

20th-25th July, 1968.

FRELIMO
MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT

Communiqué

Resounding victories have been scored by the FRELIMO fighters during the past 3 months. The most outstanding was the destruction of 12 aircraft in an attack against the airfield of MUEDA, on the 10th of August, 1968. This, and the shooting down of 3 more aircraft two days later, completely disorganised the Portuguese airforce in the Northern region: since that attack, in fact, the air raids have stopped in CABO DELGADO. This is particularly important, since the air attacks are almost the only danger for the populations in the liberated areas.

Our general strategy continued to be the extension of the armed struggle to further zones. However, during the months of June and July, this strategy was subordinated to that of consolidating our control over the semi-liberated regions, since our Second Congress was to be held in those areas. Our forces intensified their attacks, neutralising the enemy completely, preventing them from moving out of their bases.

Below we list some of the most important military actions of the FRELIMO fighters during the past few months:

A unit of FRELIMO guerrillas attacked an enemy camp at VILA VASCO DA GAMA, where a Portuguese company was based. Eight tents and eight huts were destroyed. 17 enemy soldiers were killed and 25 wounded.

ATTACK ON THE ENEMY CAMP OF CHITUCULA: several guerrilla units joined in order to attack the camp of CHITUCULA. The attack was launched at 2 a.m., with artillery and infantry forces. 14 enemy soldiers were killed, 4 huts destroyed and 6 damaged.

The enemy camp placed near the LUANGALA bridge was attacked by our guerrillas. Eight colonialist soldiers were killed, and others wounded.

ATTACK ON THE NGOO ENCAMPMENT: in a combined action of several units of artillery and infantry of FRELIMO, the enemy camp of NGOO was attacked. Almost all the houses were destroyed. 20 Portuguese soldiers were killed and many others wounded. ...

A FRELIMO unit attacked a train, on the railway line between BELEM and CATUR. The locomotive engine was destroyed, and three wagons were derailed.

18th June: the enemy, coming from the post of MSANGULA(Revia) attempted to cross the LUGENDA River, in order to attack the people. The Portuguese troops were located by the guerrillas, who organised an ambush. When they were crossing, the Portuguese fell under heavy fire from our forces. The enemy retreated in confusion, with many losses. When returning to their post(MSANGULA), they crossed a mine, suffering more killed and wounded.

25th June: the bridge of RULECO was destroyed by FRELIMO forces on the 12th March.

The enemy reconstructed the bridge in concrete and steel. Once more our sabotage group destroyed it completely.

13th July: FRELIMO forces attacked the military post of RUCIA, in the zone of QUITARAJO. The enemy offered strong resistance, but after a heavy exchange of fire, our guerrillas entered the post victoriously. 17 enemy soldiers were killed. We captured many weapons, documents, 22 grenades, 2 radios and other equipment.

20th July: FRELIMO forces attacked the enemy camp of NGAZELO. Most of the Portuguese soldiers were in a football camp. The guerrillas advanced as far as the camp, and opened fire. Confused and in disorder, the enemy could not evade our fire, as they were in an open place. They were hit, suffering heavy losses.

The 10th of August was a day of outstanding victory for FRELIMO fighters. On that day, at exactly 5:36, our guerrillas attacked the airfield of MUEDA with mortars and cannons. There were 13 aircraft at the field. During the attack, one aircraft succeeded in taking off and escaped, flying towards PORTO AMELIA. Another was shot down while trying to take off. All the others were destroyed on the ground: a total of 12 aircraft were thus destroyed. Besides the aircraft, the fuel deposit, several houses and some military vehicles were also destroyed. The raging fire at the airfield lasted the whole day.

On the 12th of August, FRELIMO fighters shot down 3 aircraft flying from PORTO AMELIA to MUEDA. They were shot down over the zone of LILONDE, near MUEDA. They were 2 bombers and one reconnaissance plane.

Message

TO THE HEADS OF STATE AND OF GOVERNMENTS
OF THE OAU

Excellencies,
Dear brothers,

The Central Committee of FRELIMO, meeting in Tanzania from the 25th of August to the 1st of September, 1968, has the honour to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the militants and the whole Mozambican people engaged in a revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation.

Approximately one month ago, one of the most important events in our history took place. From the 20th to the 25th of July, 1968, the II Congress of FRELIMO was held in Niassa, Mozambique.

For 6 days, for the first time in our history, representatives of all the provinces met in our own country to analyse the problems of the liberation struggle and to determine the course of our future. The II Congress of FRELIMO constituted a re-affirmation of our unshakable determination to proceed with the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism until final victory. It was also an impressive demonstration of unity, born from and consolidated through the armed revolutionary struggle. The Congress was therefore an important step towards the achievement of our goal - independence, and the establishment of a people's social order in Mozambique. In this way, our people make their contribution towards the achievement of African freedom and African unity.

At this time, when we are achieving outstanding victories in our liberation struggle, the Central Committee wishes to support whole-heartedly the decisions of the last meeting of the Liberation Committee held in Algiers.

Since its creation, the OAU has always recognised and supported FRELIMO, thus demonstrating their concern for the interests of the Mozambican people. And now again, the solid and open declaration of support for FRELIMO, reaffirmed by the Liberation Committee in its July meeting in Algiers, is a great encouragement for our people.

We are convinced that the visit of the OAU Military Commission to our country has contributed to the confirmation of that position.

The visit of the Commission to the free regions of Mozambique enabled the OAU to have a clearer picture of the development of our struggle.

The members had the opportunity to see for themselves our successes, our problems, the difficulties we are facing. This, excellencies, will enable you to appreciate exactly what problems we are encountering in our struggle, which is indeed part of the common struggle for the total liberation of our continent.

Confident of the victory of our people, the Central Committee salutes your excellencies and expresses its firm support for the growth and strengthening of the OAU.

Independencia ou MORTE!

VENCEREMOS!

The Central Committee of FRELIMO.

The Information Services of the Portuguese Armed Forces has announced that the following soldiers of their Army were killed in combat in Mozambique:

Sub-lieutenants:

Manuel Vitor Pinto
Rui Manuel Sa Lemos Abreu
Jose Henriques Santos Fidalgo

David Manuel Correia Sousa
Joao Francisco
Jubileu Pondja
Manuel Conceicao Goncalves
Jose andrade Correia
Joaquim Henriques Teixeira

Corporals:

Manuel Conceicao da Costa
Benedito Zacarias Nhantumba
Braimo
Carlos Apolinario Pontes Lopes
Mamuel Marcelino
Jose Luis Goncalves Lourenço
Joaquim Soares de Andrade

Abubo Muluhia
Afonso Filipe Mutumane
Alberto Alves Sousa
Joao Catana
Maulana Gomes
Seia Simano
Muanassa Nassau
Momade Sufo
Fadil Faide
Ambasse Salimo.

Soldiers:

Carlos Manuel
Beireman
Mabilocuane David
Joaquim Moreira Couto
Francisco Goncalves Soares
Joaquim Goncalves Gutierres
Alvaro Alberto Fernandes

statement

WEST GERMAN COLONIALISM

Last month, Mr. Kai Uwe von Hassel, the West German Minister for Refugees, was in Dar Es Salaam and made certain statements to the press concerning FRELIMO, on which we would like to comment.

Mr. von Hassel said, for example, that his Government does not support the liberation movements. A fact of which the liberation movements are well aware. Indeed, FRELIMO has never received support of any kind from West Germany. The minister's justification for this attitude is that it would constitute an "interference in the internal affairs of other countries" - a rather feeble excuse. To which countries is he referring? Mozambique? Angola? Guinea? or Portugal? The fact which the honourable minister and his Government refuse to accept is that we are waging a war of liberation, a war against another country - Portugal. How could support for Mozambique possibly be considered interference in the internal affairs of Portugal?

Our denunciation of West Germany for its assistance to our enemy is based on two main objectives, neither of which is concern over "interference in the internal affairs of Mozambique." Firstly, our aim is to inform the Mozambican people who our enemies are in light of our present and future international relations; and secondly to alert the democratic peoples of the world to the expansionist tendencies of West Germany, and the sinister significance of this country's close relations with the fascist states of the world, particularly of Southern Africa - Portugal, Rhodesia and S. Africa.

The war between Mozambique and Portugal is a war between two countries and hence Mr. von Hassel's argument has no sound basis whatsoever. The United Nations has already recognised the right to self-determination of the peoples under Portuguese domination, and the legitimacy of their armed struggle. It is obvious that Mr. von Hassel was forced to produce some justification for his Government's position because he was in Tanzania, a revolutionary and radically anti-imperialist country. At home he admits that West Germany's policy rests solely on the desire for cheap raw materials, lucrative overseas markets, and strategic bases. Having no colonies of her own, she must establish good relations with those countries that still do.

The minister's rather unoriginal argument, already used for years by the Portuguese government, deceived no one.

Mr. von Hassel also denied that West Germany was helping Portugal in the war, and that the president of FRELIMO was telling "a big lie" when he accused West Germany of being Portugal's main ally. Without desiring a polemic on this issue, we would like to draw attention to a few examples of cooperation between these two countries-political, economic and military - which illustrate who, in fact, is telling "a big lie."

- When Kai Uwe von Hassel, in his capacity as the then West German Minister of Defence in May, 1965, paid an official visit to Portugal in order to increase the military co-operation with the fascist regime, he was decorated by Salazar with the "Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ."
- On the need to intensify the suppression of the African liberation movements, he told West German army commanders: "In case the black continent becomes a red stronghold, the countries of the South-East flank of NATO could not fulfil their task any longer, a liberal Europe encircled in such a way could hardly be defended. The decline of the Occident would become the almost inevitable result..." (Quoted in the West German navy magazine "Leinen los.")
- A treaty of extradition has recently been signed between the Portuguese and West German governments.
- In March, 1966, the West German Foreign Minister, Herr Schröder agreed on "bilateral co-operation in the military field" with Portugal and promised that "measures to strengthen the Portuguese economy would be stepped up."
- Military advisers and arms are both being supplied to Portugal and its "Overseas Territories":
 - 10,000 modern machine guns were delivered to Mozambique and Angola;
 - Sixty F86 fighter planes bought in Canada were resold to Portugal for use in Angola and Mozambique;
 - West German newspapers have been openly reporting on the use of "F86 machine guns, F91 jet fighters, and heavy Mercedes-Benz trucks in the war against FRELIMO fighters in Mozambique." ('Stuttgarter Zeitung').
- West Germany and Portugal have agreed to complete the Luftwaffe base at Beja, Portugal. It will be a predominantly West German base and Bonn is reported to be putting up more than 75 per cent of the capital cost. The agreement to build the base is covered by the NATO treaty provision allowing bilateral defence pacts between members.
- The armaments factory at Braço de Prata, subsidised by West .../

Germany, is producing small weapons for the West German Army and the Portuguese forces. There is a Portuguese-German joint Commission to supervise the work in the factory.

- Thw "Otavi Minen - und Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft" obtained the permission from the Salazar regime to start surveys for strategically important ores containing uranium and thorium in Mozambique, it was announced in August 1968 in Frankfurt during the general assembly of that company.
- The "Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks AG," the biggest West German mining trust, has obtained a licence for prospecting oil in Mozambique. The trust heads an international consortium which also includes the "South African Anglo-American Corporation," and a subsidiary of the French "Societe Nationale des Petroles." The consortium has pledged to invest nearly twenty million West German marks within three years for the opening up of oil deposits.
- On July 10, 1968, the Portuguese government appointed a West German-led international consortium for constructing the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique which intends to create conditions for the settlement of more than one million white settlers as a stronghold against the liberation movement. The value of the order is about one thousand million West German marks in which participate the West German companies of "Siemens," "AG-Telefunken," "Brown, Boveri und Cie.," "Voith" and "Hochtief."
- The 1967 Economic Report of the West German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Portugal confirms the enormous increase of foreign investments. Between the end of 1965 and September, 1967, West German investments in Portugal increased by 96.4 per cent from 28 million marks in 1965 to 55 million in 1967.
- Angola is becoming an ever-increasing domain of the West German imperialists. Cassinga, the iron ore centre, was built by West German armaments firm of Krupp at the head of an international consortium at a cost of over 500 million marks - it exported over 8 million tons of high quality iron ore in 1967.
- West Germany now takes first place the Portuguese trade balance. In 1965, it exported goods valued at 4,200 million escudos to Portugal, and imported goods valued at 1,308 escudos.
- By 1965, West Germany had a dominant position in the following Portuguese industries: metal and Angolan mines(Krupp), glass, surgical instruments, photographic and electrical apparatus. In addition, West German capital is financing an irrigation and afforestation plan, three new airports, and a fish processing industry. The two governments have even reached an agreement on the exploitation of emigrant labour whereby Bonn reduces Portuguese government debts by 80,000 escudos for every worker who goes to the Federal Republic.

Statement

SUPPORT FOR THE MOVEMENT ZAPU/ANC

The Central Committee of FRELIMO, meeting in its first session after the Second Congress, after analysing the armed struggle which is being waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa, and its significance for the liberation and national independence of all peoples in Southern Africa,

- Taking into consideration the good co-operation which has always existed between FRELIMO ZAPU/ANC;
- Convinced that the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa is an integral part of the struggle of the Mozambican people for liberation and independence from colonialism and imperialism;
- Convinced of the necessity of intensifying links of friendship, co-operation and mutual solidarity;
- a) Formally declares its complete support for and solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa, led respectively by ZAPU-ANC.
- b) Assures as much co-operation as possible with the movement ANC/ZAPU;
- c) Hails ZAPU/ANC for the successes they have achieved since the launching of their armed struggle;
- d) Expresses the hope that the present bonds of friendship and solidarity between FRELIMO and ANC/ZAPU will be consolidated.

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!

WE SHALL WIN!

The Central Committee,

1st September, 1968.